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The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried mepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

535 171

This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also among the Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krahõ', and Apą'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

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In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will describe the knee (mekonkrąne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last rigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.).

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The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakõkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakõkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakõkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

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The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

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JEALOUSY

152 Among young men any expression of jealousy or resentment over a slight would
836 be considered mean and ridiculous. On the other hand, girls take little pains to
626 suppress corresponding sentiments. In a fit of jealousy Kentapí told her lover that she would wait till he was gone, then lure her rival, Muruwá, out into the steppe, club her to death, and lead him to inspect the skeletal remains on his return. Fortunately, as elsewhere, big talk and action do not always coincide in Ponto. As a matter of fact, the two girls could not carry their hostility to extremes because the omnipotent social structure is bound to unite them again and again in defiance of personal sentiments. Such a thing as having a woman declare that she would not attend the afternoon dance lest she meet her rival is wholly inconceivable for a Timbira. Accordingly, soon after these two were seen dancing and singing together in one line.

SEX IDEAL

832 The Rąmkõ'kamekra ideal for both sexes involves a stature that is not too short;
836 light skin color; long and ample hair; a well-nourished body; small eyes; and a
784 nimble gait. Males are supposed, in addition, to wear large earplugs. A lazybones
[164] (čukaká) who plays truant at log races or hunting and obviously evades work will have no luck in getting a wanton, let alone a wife. There were two or three such čukaká in the tribe—one of them probably afflicted with hookworm acquired on some begging trip. The others declared that they had somehow transgressed the food taboos imposed on young people of both sexes relating to the flesh of the little anteater, armadillo, porcupine, paca, capybara, sucurijú and jacaré, and to ostrich eggs, electric eels, and rays—prohibitions removed only after marriage.

832 Good log racers arouse the girls' pleasure and admiration, as do good singers
581 and dancers. Yet in the choice of a husband a competent hunter looms as more attractive, lack of skill in the chase being a decided obstacle. Pądnhì had graduated from the initiation ceremonies, was twenty to twenty-two years old, had been long engaged to a girl, and according to the list he recited to me had killed many kinds of game; but he explained that this was far from adequate and that he would have to give many further proofs before marriage. However, there is no formal test; the general impression that a young man is able to supply a wife and family with meat suffices.

The only form of love magic observed is the secret removal of hair from the temples of the beloved person, whereby it is believed possible to assure a permanent union.

PREREQUISITES TO MARRIAGE

582 In former times no young man was permitted to marry before completing the cycle
[231] of initiation ceremonies, thereby attaining the status of a warrior, pẽp. Premature
881 sexual intercourse, it is said, impairs one's prowess as a log racer. As described (p. 200), the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony of the last initiation phase involves the leading of engaged youths by their prospective mothers-in-law. However, the young warriors were by no means obliged to marry at once, being allowed to remain single as long as they pleased; since the difference within a class may amount to as much as ten years, some members had not yet attained the necessary age.

For girls it was essential to have obtained the corded girdle (me'pré) before marriage and to be virgins; and marriage with a virgin was considered indissoluble. This girdle was bestowed after at least one season's service as the associate of some men's organization. The two vų'tę' and the warrior girls who graduate from

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initiation with the young men do not receive their girdle until the close of their term of office—in both cases of about five years' duration. In former days, furthermore, they did not erect the elevated platform bed prior to receipt of the girdle, hence had no previous visits of their lovers at night. This statement, I think, may be accepted as definitely established by the information given by the older Rąmkõ'kamekra. It is the paternal kinswoman who transfers names to a girl that also gives her the girdle.

There are no marriage tests for the Timbira. The log races so often represented as such by earlier writers are in no way connected with matrimony. Agreeing with Abreu, I must emphasize this point because Snethlage expressly reports contradictory information. On the other hand, he rightly corrects Ignace's gross error in crediting the Canella with the ant trial.[180]

At present some mothers try to accelerate the development of breasts by dealing a daughter a few light taps against the nipples with their finger joints—usually in the morning on waking up. Girls also practice this custom among themselves. I once observed a ten-year-old girl who for this reason wore a broad grass strip tied tightly across the chest, with a little disk of charcoal over each nipple and under the grass strip.

Nowadays only a minority of girls attain puberty as virgins. *De facto* most of them are already married at twelve or have had extramarital relations. On the other hand, I do know a number of girls—the vų'tę' Repiya, for example—who are at least fourteen and still virgins. (See pl. 28, *b*, *c*.) Such chaste girls, who are invariably engaged, are educated for indissoluble wedlock and guarded by their elder kinswomen. As for the rest, one is never sure when their period of betrothal—assuming its existence—ends and when matrimony begins. In the orthodox view they would all be wantons with whom any bachelor might consort freely, breaking the relationship, at least in the absence of offspring, at the will of either party.

As for the youths, at present a considerable number are married before the completion of their initiation. The Rąmkõ'kamekra connive at this transgression, which unlike the present Apinayé, they do not penalize by forcible separation.

All the Eastern Timbira are strictly monogamous; even tradition reports not a single polygynous or polyandrous union. Snethlage correctly rejects Tuggia's allegation[181] that the Krahõ' permit polygamy.

DEFLORATION AND MENSTRUATION

Like their Apinayé cousins,[182] the Rąmkõ'kamekra firmly assert that menstruation is impossible prior to sexual congress. Such a theory is after a fashion intelligible for the Apinayé, whose girls with possibly a few exceptions are actually deflowered before their first menses, but for the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is utterly inconceivable: first, because I personally know a number of girls who were surely of age yet were rated and married as virgins; secondly, as explained above, marriage three generations ago was quite generally not entered before this age *and* in a condition of chastity. This is confirmed by Ribeiro: "Destinam-se entre elles o consorcio das mulheres logo que pouco mais ou menos tenham 14 ou 15 annos." Moreover, says Pohl, writing of the Põrekamekra, "dass hier das Beispiel eines gefallenen Mädchens eine unerhörte Sache sey."[183] The statement by Pohl, cited by Snethlage

[180] Frões Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 187. Snethlage, Nordostbras., 171, 183. Ignace, Capiekrans, 147.

[181] Frei Rafael Tuggia, Mappa, 123.

[182] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 75.

[183] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 18. Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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841 853 171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed [123] that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved.

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others [412] as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed.

No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted [757] with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning.

● 836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkõ'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

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the catchers raise their right hands, the expectant ketúaye simultaneously sally forth from their houses of seclusion and march to the plaza in single file, each group headed by its leader and the respective commandants bringing up the rear. In the plaza they form a double line between the catchers, the easterners facing north, the westerners south at a distance of about two meters from each other. Now the precentors assume their respective positions, while from all sides the boys' male and female relatives, as well as other spectators, come out of their residences. The boys' matrilineal kinswomen bring gourd bottles filled with water and place them on the ground; each stands behind her son, nephew, grandson, brother or cousin, thus forming an additional line on each side behind the novices. Some short distance behind these women stands a more or less complete row of kinsmen, and still farther back are other spectators. (Fig. 12.)

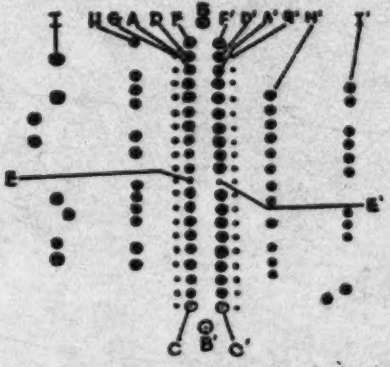

Fig. 12. Position of ketúaye for singing in plaza. A, A', ketúaye; B, B', catchers; C, C', commandants; D, D', class leaders; E, E' girl associates; F, F', precentors; G, G', kinswomen; H, H' male relatives; I, I', spectators.

Soon the precentors begin the songs and dance of the souls. There are always five songs, each being repeated several times. The boys take up the chant. The dancing, as always with this tribe, starts feebly, gradually growing more animated, and finally vehement. The boys' kinswomen step up to them, put their hands on the lads' hips, and in this posture join in the dance behind them. Only the two catchers at their outposts stand immobile, their right hands raised as though in benediction.

The souls are now supposed to be present, and the kinswomen profess to lend support to the boys by their participation.

As soon as the last chant is over, the precentors step aside, then the kinswomen take up their bottles and pour the contents over the boys. This coincides with the procedure for ridding oneself of the influence of the dead after a burial. In the meantime the catchers remain mute and motionless like two statues. Suddenly they drop their right hands, hitherto kept uninterruptedly raised, whereupon the two ketúaye groups, in the order of their arrival, depart for their places of internment.

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So far as I am aware, the only instruction given to the ketúaye relates to the practices of the souls of the dead. The boys pass the time in their chambers as best they can, plaiting mats for their platform beds or manufacturing ornaments and the like. The commandant insists on quiet, staid demeanor, prohibiting noise and romping. The novices must not enter into relations with girls—a taboo sometimes felt as onerous by the bigger boys; every excess in this direction is strictly punished, the youngest member of the group lashing the transgressor's back with a rod at the commandant's request. Indecent behavior toward the girl associates does not occur.

The ketúaye are not at liberty to leave their chambers without the special permission of their mekapónkate. They are not supposed to appear singly in public. Accordingly, in the exceptional instances of absence by leave, they always dash to their destination and back again at a mad pace. Food is brought to the house of internment by a boy's mother or maternal aunt.

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and eaten. This ceremony is common to the terminal ritual of both initiation phases as well as of the pepkahą'k.

Before daybreak the ketúaye went bathing, then ran along the boulevard, whereupon they and several men of the western age classes marched before the house of Hąktokót, the peccary's owner. As soon as the ketúaye appeared, the women of the house burst into loud crying, but presently tied a cord round the beast's neck, handing its end to one of the men, who stepped up to the door. He led the animal outside, where it was clubbed to death while the women were wailing despondently. The women stepped up to the carcass and continued crying for a while, then it was transported to a deserted village site three kilometers downstream from the settlement. There a sunshade for the ketúaye and a windbreak for the prókama had already been prepared, the former composed of a big foliage-covered horizontal lattice of poles above a man's height. Such arbors (*latadas*) are also used at Neobrazilian festivities.

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New groups were constantly arriving until the whole population had assembled. The flesh of the peccary was partly cooked in an iron pot, partly used for meat pies, but the ketúaye received none of it, being fed with inferior victuals. The prókama were the first to be served, among them myself, for whom a hammock of interlaced burity leaves had been considerately stretched under the windbreak. There we spent the time eating and storytelling.

In the meantime the ketúaye, accompanied by several young girls, went to prepare a pair of racing logs, while the women made a huge earth oven in the camp, in which fourteen pies were steamed. Then these were distributed; the ketúaye got their share, but instead of consuming it they passed it on to their kin. Finally came the kapranpotíkama class, likewise accompanied by a bevy of young girls. They are the opponents of the ketúaye and camp opposite them on the east side of the plaza. Apparently this association of younger people of both sexes had led to sundry love affairs; at all events, several of these kapranpotí were in exuberant spirits and unable to restrain their loquacity.

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Two pairs of logs had been made and laid down beside each other in couples on the road outside the camp. The anterior, lighter pair, whose weight was once more checked by experts, was for the girls. The men and the girls then danced, each group behind their appropriate pair of logs, raising their arms and clapping hands. Then the two girls' teams first seized their logs and rushed off toward the village. The men allowed them a start, but overtook them and got to the village plaza ahead of them. However, the girls did not lag behind excessively. The course was relatively short—three kilometers—but annoyingly hilly and sandy.

In the plaza a fire was burning, round which the ketúaye and kapranpotíkama performed a wild dance; at the same time the girls grouped by threes and fours formed a broken circle round them, dancing and singing in their customary manner, and the other men stood about still farther off. At sunset this dance was followed by the plaza dance of lads and lasses customary about this hour; and this in turn was succeeded by a girls' log race around the boulevard and a men's race, by couples, from one vų'tę''s house to the other's, across the plaza. In the meantime the ketúaye and the rópkama, who likewise belong to the western team, marched along the boulevard in single file from house to house. As a member of the latter age class I joined in. As soon as one of us got to the front of his mother's dwelling, his kinswomen gave him some object toward payment for the pig slain. I noted cloth, mirrors, spoons, knives, two iron pots, and other articles. Finally, everyone in the column had some object in his hands, and thus we moved to the house of the peccary